

Message Text

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ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 PRS-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00
PA-02 NEA-10 ACDA-10 EUR-12 PM-04 DODE-00 SP-02
DHA-02 IO-13 AF-10 H-02 EB-07 /096 W
-----132326Z 111172 /66

O R 132047Z MAY 77
FM USDEL SECRETARY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 4077

E.O.11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP(VANCE, CYRUS R.)
SUBJ: SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE, CARVANSARI LOUNGE,
AMERICAN EMBASSY, TEHRAN, MAY 13, 1977

FIRST LET ME APOLOGIZE FOR BEING LATE, OUR MEETING LASTED
CONSIDERABLY LONGER THAN I HAD ANTICIPATED. WE HAD A VERY BROAD-
RANGING DISCUSSION WHICH WAS EXTREMELY USEFUL. WE COVERED MANY
SUBJECTS INCLUDING SUCH SUBJECTS AS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, THE
STEPS WHICH WERE BEING PLANNED AS A RESULT OF THE SEVEN NATION
SUMMIT TO STIMULATE THE WORLD'S ECONOMY, THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
ARISING OUT OF THE ENERGY CONCERNS AND ISSUES. WE DISCUSSED THE
SITUATION IN THE REGION AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE REGION.
WE DISCUSSED AFRICA AND A NUMBER OF BILATERAL MATTERS BETWEEN
OUR TWO COUNTRIES. SO I WILL NOW TAKE ANY QUESTIONS YOU MAY
HAVE.

Q. DID YOU INVITE THE SHAH TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES
OR DID YOU CARRY AN INVITATION FOR HIM TO COME TO THE UNITED
STATES?

VANCE: YES I DID.

Q. WHEN WILL THAT BE?

VANCE: I'LL LEAVE THAT UP TO HIM AND THE PRESIDENT TO
ANNOUNCE.

Q. BUT THIS YEAR.

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VANCE: THIS YEAR.

Q. THE SECOND PART OF THE YEAR?

VANCE: I'LL LEAVE THAT UP TO THEM.

Q. WHEN IT COMES TO PAKISTAN, ARE THE ALLEGATIONS THAT
MR. BHUTTO MAKES ABOUT AMERICAN PAYMENT TO OPPOSITION MEMBERS
THERE TRUE? IS THIS AN ACCURATE STATEMENT?

VANCE: THEY ARE FALSE.

Q. AND ARE YOU MEETING WITH MR. BHUTTO TO DISCUSS THIS?

VANCE: NO I AM NOT MEETING WITH MR. BHUTTO TO DISCUSS THIS. I AM NOT ABLE TO GO TO PAKISTAN BECAUSE OF MY SCHEDULE. HE IS UNABLE TO LEAVE HIS COUNTRY AT THIS TIME. I HAD HOPED THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF PAKISTAN WOULD BE ATTENDING THE CENTO MEETING TOMORROW AT WHICH TIME WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS. UNFORTUNATELY, HE WILL NOT BE COMING TO THAT MEETING.

Q. DO YOU THINK THIS IS A DIRECT SNUB TO THE UNITED STATES?

VANCE: I'M NOT GOING TO CHARACTERIZE IT...

Q. MR. SECRETARY: I HAVE A QUESTION WITH REGARD TO CENTO. THE RELATIONS OF IRAN WITH OTHER ALLIES HAVE BEEN VERY GOOD. BUT, WITH RESPECT TO RELATIONS BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND TURKEY, AND BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND THE UNITED STATES, WHAT WOULD BE YOUR COMMENTS AT THIS TIME ABOUT THE CENTO SITUATION? WOULD CENTO CONTINUE TO EXIST AS A REAL TREATY AT THIS POINT?

VANCE: YES, IN MY JUDGMENT IT WILL. THE ORGANIZATION HAS OVER THE YEARS PERFORMED A VERY VALUABLE FUNCTION. THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE CENTO MEMBERS ARE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. THEY ARE IMPORTANT NOT ONLY TO EACH OTHER, BUT BILATERALLY AMONG THE CENTO MEMBERS AND I SEE NO REASON WHY CENTO SHOULD NOT CONTINUE BECAUSE I THINK IT PERFORMS A USEFUL FUNCTION.

Q. WHAT SORT OF PROGRESS HAS MR. WARNKE BEEN MAKING IN GENEVA TO ENABLE YOU TO FURTHER YOUR SALT NEGOTIATIONS THERE, WHEN YOU ARRIVE ON THE 18TH?

VANCE: I HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED A REPORT FROM MR. WARNKE. I HOPE MAYBE THERE WOULD BE ONE IN THE CABLES TONIGHT. I DO PLAN TO MEET WITH MR. WARNKE WHEN I GO BACK THROUGH GENEVA ON SUNDAY. HE WILL BE MEETING ME AT THE AIRPORT AND I
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WILL HAVE AN HOUR WITH HIM BETWEEN THE CHANGE OF PLANES. I WILL BE TAKING A PLANE BACK FROM GENEVA TO THE UNITED STATES AND WE WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO DISCUSS WITH EACH OTHER WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, AND I WILL BE ABLE TO COMMUNICATE TO HIM FURTHER GUIDANCE IN CONNECTION WITH HIS ACTIVITIES AND WITH THE UPCOMING DISCUSSIONS WHICH WILL BE TAKING PLACE BETWEEN MYSELF AND MR. GROMYKO AND MR. WARNKE WHICH WILL START WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY OF NEXT WEEK.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, MR. WARNKE INDICATED THAT THE NEXT STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS SEEMED TO BE POINTING TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS, THAT'S WHAT HE DESCRIBED IT AS, OF THE TWO AMERICAN PROPOSALS, AND THE RUSSIAN PROPOSAL. IS THAT INDEED THE OBJECTIVE?

VANCE: I THINK IT IS POSSIBLE THAT OUT OF THE DISCUSSIONS ONE MIGHT FIND A BRIDGING OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEM AND A FORM OF SYNTHESIS. WHETHER IN FACT THIS WILL OCCUR, I, OF COURSE, CAN'T PREDICT AT THIS TIME. IT WILL DEPEND UPON DISCUSSIONS WHICH WE HAVE WITH THE SOVIETS WHEN WE SIT DOWN AT THE TABLE IN GENEVA. BUT THAT IS A POSSIBILITY.

Q. YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT A BRIDGING BETWEEN THE SOVIET
AND THE AMERICANS?

VANCE: OF THE THREE PROPOSALS.

Q. ALL THREE.

VANCE: YES.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, IN WHICH WAY DID YOU OUTLINE THE
UNITED STATES' FOREIGN POLICY WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
IRAN?

VANCE: I STRESSED THE FACT THAT OUR LONG AND CLOSE
RELATIONSHIPS TO IRAN, WITH IRAN, HAD BEEN A POLICY WHICH I
BELIEVE WAS VERY BENEFICIAL TO BOTH OUR COUNTRIES AND TO THE
STABILITY OF THE REGION. WE REACHED AGREEMENT ON THIS. WE
FEEL THAT WE MUST CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN THAT RELATIONSHIP
IN THE FUTURE AND REACHED AGREEMENT ON THAT PROPOSITION, AND
WE WILL BE CONTINUING TO WORK TOGETHER VERY CLOSELY ON COMMON
MATTERS DURING THE YEARS AHEAD. YES, SIR.

Q. WAS THE SHAH CONCERNED AT ALL THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S
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POLICY OF REDUCING ARMS TRANSFERS AND SALES ABROAD MIGHT HAVE
A HARMFUL EFFECT ON THE UNITED STATES-IRANIAN RELATIONS? AND,
IF SO, WHAT DID YOU TELL HIM?

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PA-02 NEA-10 ACDA-10 EUR-12 PM-04 DODE-00 SP-02

DHA-02 IO-13 AF-10 H-02 EB-07 /096 W

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O R 132047Z MAY 77

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VANCE: I DON'T WANT TO GO INTO THE DETAILS OF OUR DISCUSSION
EXCEPT TO SAY THAT WE DID DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF ARMS SALES.
HE DID NOT EXPRESS CONCERN THAT OUR ARMS TRANSFER POLICY WAS F

CAUSING, OR WOULD CAUSE, CONCERN TO HIM. AS TO THE DETAILS OF OUR DISCUSSION, THAT WILL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL A FUTURE.

Q. SIR, DID YOU DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR REACTORS TO IRAN?

VANCE: YES, WE DID. WE DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR REACTORS AND FOUND A GREAT DEAL OF COMMONALITY BETWEEN OUR VIEWS. WE ARE GOING TO PURSUE THOSE MATTERS IN JOINT DISCUSSIONS WHICH WE WILL BE HAVING WITH THE IRANIANS IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DID YOU DISCUSS OIL PRICING?

VANCE: NOT AS SUCH.

Q. DID YOU DISCUSS THE IRANIAN THREAT PERCEPTION AS WELL AS ARMS POLICY?

VANCE: YES, WE DID.

Q. HOW ARE YOU IMPRESSED BY IT?

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VANCE: I FOUND IT WAS A VERY INTERESTING AND LUCID ANALYSIS.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DID YOU PROMISE ANY SPECIFIC ARMS TO IRAN?

VANCE: WE DISCUSSED SOME OUTSTANDING ORDERS AND AGREED TO DISCUSS THEM FURTHER. THERE WERE SUGGESTIONS ABOUT ADDITIONAL ITEMS WHICH WE WILL DISCUSS FURTHER IN THE FUTURE.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DID YOU GO INTO THE QUESTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN WITH THE SHAH?

VANCE: YES, I DID.

Q. COULD YOU ELABORATE?

VANCE: NOT ANYMORE THAN TO SAY THAT WE DID DISCUSS THE MATTER. I EXPLAINED THE VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. THE SHAH EXPLAINED HIS VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO THOSE ISSUES AND TO OUR POLICY AND I THINK THAT IS ALL I SHOULD SAY AT THIS POINT.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, WHAT IS, IN YOUR OPINION, THE MILITARY IMPORTANCE OF THE CENTO PACT?

VANCE: I THINK THAT CENTO OVER THE YEARS HAS HAD A STABILIZING INFLUENCE IN THE AREA. I THINK IT CONTINUES TO HAVE IMPORTANCE AND

THIS IS ONE OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH WE WILL BE DISCUSSING IN SOME
DETAIL TOMORROW TO SEE WHETHER WE HAVE A CONSENSUS OF VIEWS AS
TO THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE THAT IT HAS.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, THE U.S. HAS SUPPLIED INDIA WITH NUCLEAR FUEL
IN THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS.

VANCE: YES.

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Q. ARE YOU GOING TO DO IT IN FUTURE YEARS?

VANCE: THERE WILL BE A DECISION TAKEN ON THIS IN THE NEAR
FUTURE AND AT THAT TIME THERE WILL BE AN ANNOUNCEMENT.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DID YOU HAVE ANY DISAGREEMENTS WITH THE SHAH
ON ANY AREAS, AND IF SO, COULD YOU TELL US WHAT THEY ARE, OR WERE
YOU IN FULL AGREEMENT ON THIS BROAD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS?

VANCE: BROADLY SPEAKING, WE FOUND A GREAT DEAL OF COMMONALITY IN
OUR VIEW OF THE WORLD SITUATION. THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS
ON SOME MATTERS BUT NOT ON BROAD STRATEGIC MATTERS.

Q. WHAT ARE THOSE MATTERS, SIR?

VANCE: THAT IS ALL I WANT TO SAY ON THAT.

Q. WHEN DOES THE U.S. INTEND TO JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT
ON HUMAN RIGHTS?

VANCE: WE HAVE INDICATED PUBLICLY THAT WE INTEND TO TAKE THAT
STEP AS SOON AS WE CAN GET THE NECESSARY ACTION BY OUR CONGRESS.
WHEN THAT WILL HAPPEN, I DON'T KNOW.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, IS IRAN GOING TO BUY THE AWACS SYSTEM?

VANCE: YES, THAT WAS ANNOUNCED PREVIOUSLY THAT THEY ARE.
CONFIRMED.

Q. IF I MAY ASK A MIDDLE EAST QUESTION, I WONDER IF YOU COULD
SHED ANY LIGHT ON THE DISPUTE THAT HAS BEEN GOING ON IN
WASHINGTON, IN WHICH MRS. BENSON WENT BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE
AND ARGUED AGAINST A SERIES OF AMENDMENTS TO SEEK A GUARANTEE A
SUPPLY OF ARMS TO ISRAEL. THIS SEEMS SOMEWHAT PECULIAR IN VIEW OF
YOUR ASSURANCE TO FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON THE SAME DAY THAT
ISRAEL COULD BUY ANYTHING SHE NEEDED FROM THE U.S. I WONDER IF
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YOU COULD EXPLAIN THE REASON BEHIND THIS DECISION.

VANCE: I BELIEVE THERE IS A VERY SIMPLE REASON. MRS. BENSON FELT THAT IT WAS UNNECESSARY UNDER THE DRAFT ARMS TRANSFER PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE BECAUSE IT WAS CLEARLY RECOGNIZED THAT BECAUSE OF THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL THAT WE WOULD PROVIDE THE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT AND DEFENSE MATERAILS TO ASSURE THAT SECURITY, INCLUDING ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY; THEREFOERE, SHE FELT THERE WAS NO REASON TO SPELL IT OUT AND IN ANY DIFFERENT WORDS THAN WERE USED IN THE DRAFT PROPOSAL.

Q. WOULD IT HAVE HURT TO SPELL IT OUT?

VANCE: WELL, THAT'S OPINION... YOU HAVE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON SOMETHING LIKE THAT.I THINK THAT HER POSITION WAS A VERY LOGICAL POSITION.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, ON IRAN, DO YOU SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF THERE EVER BEING ANY LINKAGE BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATION'S BEING WILLING TO GIVE THE SHAH THE WEAPONS HE WANTS, AND THE SHAH'S WILLINGNESS TO MAKE PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS?

VANCE: NO SUCH LINKAGE HAS BEEN DISCUSSED.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS REPORTEDLY BEGUN A SECRET DIALOGUE WITH MOSCOW ON THE INDIAN OCEAN. DON'T YOU THINK THAT THE LITTORAL STATES SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONFIDENCE AND GIVEN A ROLE IN SHAPING THE AREA'S ZONE OF PEACE?

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PA-02 NEA-10 ACDA-10 EUR-12 PM-04 DODE-00 SP-02
DHA-02 IO-13 AF-10 H-02 EB-07 /096 W
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O R 132047Z MAY 77
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VANCE: I THINK IT IS INACCURATE TO CHARACTERIZE THESE AS "SECRET DISCUSSIONS." WE RAISED WITH THE SOVIETS WHEN I WAS LAST IN MOSCOW THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT THEY WISHED TO DISCUSS WITH US THE QUESTION OF A POSSIBLE DEMILITARIZATION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN. THEY INDICATED THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO SUCH A DISCUSSION, AND AS A RESULT OF THAT, A MEETING--A PRELIMINARY MEETING--HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR, I BELIEVE, IT IS JUNE, AND I BELIEVE THE LOCATION IS MOSCOW. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THIS PROPOSAL, BEFORE AND IN ADVANCE WITH OUR ALLIES. WE INTEND TO KEEP THEM FULLY INFORMED. IF ANY OF THEM WISH TO JOIN THE DISCUSSIONS THEY ARE WELCOME TO DO SO, AND SO, THEREFORE, I THINK THAT TO CHARACTERIZE THESE AS "SECRET" IS INACCURATE AND WHETHER ANYTHING WILL COME OUT OF THOSE REMAINS TO BE SEEN, BUT THEY ARE STRAIGHT-FORWARD DISCUSSIONS OF THE PROBLEM WHICH HAS BEEN OF CONCERN TO THE LITTORAL STATES AND OTHERS FOR QUITE AWHILE.

Q. HOW DOES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION VIEW THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN IRAN AND WHY HASN'T IRAN BEEN MENTIONED IN ANY OF THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS MADE ON THIS ISSUE?

VANCE: I BELIEVE THAT IT WAS MENTIONED ALONG WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER NATIONS IN THE REPORT WHICH WAS FILED WITH THE SENATE AT AN EARLIER DATE. THAT IS MY UNDERSTANDING, ANYWAY.

Q. COULD YOU TELL ME IF YOU DRAW A LINE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UNCLASSIFIED

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TERRORISM AND DISSENT?

VANCE: WELL, THAT GETS INTO A DIFFICULT PROBLEM OF DEFINITION AS TO WHAT IS AND IS NOT THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. I THINK PEOPLE HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT EACH COUNTRY HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO ITSELF AND TO ITS INTEGRITY TO DEAL WITH TERRORIST PROBLEMS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE QUESTION OF DISSENT DOESN'T NECESSARILY INVOLVE TERRORISM, AND THEREFORE IT DEPENDS UPON THE INDIVIDUAL FACTUAL SITUATION... THE CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH THE PROBLEM ARISES AS TO WHETHER OR NOT YOU HAVE A QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OR NOT.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DOES THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMPLICATE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRAN AND THE UNITED STATES IN ANY WAY?

VANCE: I WOULDN'T SAY THAT IT HAS COMPLICATED THE SITUATION. IT IS ONE OF THE FACTORS THAT HAS TO BE TAKEN ACCOUNT OF IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, AS IT DOES WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, BUT I WOULDN'T USE THOSE WORDS.

Q. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS ALLOWED ANDREW YOUNG TO BE PRETTY OUTSPOKEN. ARE YOU USING HIM AS A TRIAL BALLOON FOR POSSIBLE NEW U.S. FOREIGN POLICY ESPECIALLY REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA?

VANCE: NO.

Q. HAS THE SHAH ACCEPTED YOUR INVITATION TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES?

VANCE: DID HE ACCEPT IT, DID YOU SAY? YES, HE DID.

VANCE: A COUPLE MORE QUESTIONS THEN I'VE GOT TO GO BECAUSE I'VE GOT A MEETING...

Q. SIR, HOW DO YOU SEE THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE SECURITY IN THE REGION HERE?

VANCE: THE AFRICAN SITUATION DOES NOT HAVE AN IMMEDIATE DIRECT AFFECT BUT IN THE LONG RUN IT MIGHT HAVE AN EFFECT WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF THE OIL ROUTES WHICH SPRING FROM AND FLOW OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, AFTER THE LONDON MEETING AND THE NATO MEETING, WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER MET WITH HAFEZ ASSAD, WHAT WOULD YOU SAY WILL BE THE SITUATION OF THE UNITED STATES
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ARMS SALES TO IRAN?

VANCE: WELL, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO TAKE THAT UP ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS, IN TERMS WITH INDIVIDUAL REQUESTS AS THEY COME UP, AND WE WILL DEAL WITH THEM ONE BY ONE AS THEY ARISE.

Q. WOULD THE ARMS SALES SITUATION BE GETTING TIGHTER WITH CARTER OR WOULD IT CONTINUE THE SAME WAY THAT IT WAS BEFORE LIKE IN THE FORD ADMINISTRATION?

VANCE: NO, THE CRITERIA WITH WHICH WE REVIEW IT WILL BE SPELLED OUT IN THE ARMS TRANSFER POLICY. IT WILL APPLY TO ALL NATIONS, AND THINK YOU'LL HAVE A CLEARER VIEW THEN, AS TO WHAT THE POLICY IS GOING TO BE, NOT ONLY WITH RESPECT TO IRAN, BUT WITH RESPECT TO OTHER COUNTRIES.

Q. AS I UNDERSTAND YOU WERE DISCUSSING, IN THE SENATE SESSION, AT SEVERAL MEETINGS, THE ARMS SALES TO IRAN...

VANCE: YES, IT WAS. THE DRAFT PAPER WHICH WE ARE WORKING ON WAS DISCUSSED WITH BOTH THE SENATE SIDE AND THE HOUSE SIDE AND SOME OF THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS WHO ARE NOT ON EITHER OF THE ARMS SERVICES, I MEAN THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEES OF BOTH SIDES. LAST QUESTION.

Q. THERE SEEMS TO BE AN IMPRESSION THAT SAUDI ARABIA IS GOING TO INCREASE ITS PRICE OF OIL BY THREE PERCENT IN THE COMING MONTHS, IN ORDER TO HAVE A ONE-PRICE SYSTEM IN OPEC. WHAT ARE YOUR READINGS OF THIS SITUATION AND WHAT WOULD BE WASHINGTON'S REACTION IF THEY ACTUALLY INCREASE THEIR PRICES?

VANCE: LET ME SAY, THAT I HAVE ASKED THAT QUESTION AND I HAVE NOT YET GOTTEN AN ANSWER AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THE ASSUMPTION WHICH YOU MAKE IS CORRECT. I HAVE HEARD RUMORS TO THE EFFECT THAT THAT MAY BE THE CASE BUT I CAN'T TELL YOU FIRST HAND THAT THAT WILL BE THE CASE. WELL, WE BELIEVE THAT THE CURRENT PRICE IS A FAIR AND ADEQUATE PRICE, AND WE WOULD HOPE THAT THE PRICE WOULD NOT BE RAISED. WE THINK THAT THIS WOULD HAVE ADVERSE EFFECTS NOT ONLY ON THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BUT PARTICULARLY ON THE POOREST COUNTRIES. THOSE ARE THE ONES

THAT ARE GOING TO SUFFER MOST FROM ANY OIL PRICE. THANKS VERY
MUCH.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 13-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977SECTO04077
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770169-1059
Format: TEL
From: SECRETARY TEHRAN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770561/aaaacahp.tel
Line Count: 449
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 25bba494-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2534790
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE, CARVANSARI LOUNGE, AMERICAN EMBASSY, TEHRAN, MAY 13, 1977 FIRST LET ME APOLOGIZE FOR BEING LATE, OUR MEETING
TAGS: OVIP, SOPN, US, IR, (VANCE, CYRUS R)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/25bba494-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009